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ZOTLOMASTIX:  
OR, A  
VINDICATION  
OF  
MILTON,  
From all the invidious CHARGES of  
Mr WILLIAM LAUDER,  
WITH  
Several NEW REMARKS  
ON  
PARADISE LOST.

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*Conamur tenues grandia.* HOR.

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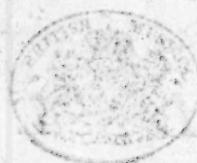
By R. RICHARDSON, B. A. late of  
Clare-Hall, Cambridge.

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M.DCC.XLVII

*This tract was not in Henderson's collection.*



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# P R E F A C E.

**I**N all ages when a great genius has appeared, there have not been wanting invidious Critics and Detractors to soil the lustre of their writings, or even deprive them of their just property in their own productions. Was antiquity silent, our own times would furnish us with examples. Their mean assiduity and alertness would wrest Mr Pope's *Essays* from him, and falsely insinuate that Mr Addison's *Cato* was but a copy, and that

Garth did not write his own *Dispensary*.

Virgil has his Macrobius, Bavius, Mævius; Homer his Zoilus; and both, thein French Critics. Milton would not be equal to those great authors in every respect, was he not attack'd with equal envy.

Dr Bentley's attempt was to wipe away the (supposed) defects of *Paradise Lost*; but Mr Lauder's (must I mention him

*him with that learned critic ?) to blot and daub it with detraction. The Critic's endeavour was more generous, as it proceeded from an esteem for the Poet ; the Detractor's base and ungenerous, as it is tainted with rancour, spleen and envy. Mean officious zeal to strip the deserved laurel from his own countryman, to grace the brows of a few obscure foreigners ! Was it for this, that their works have engrossed his attention for these \* seven years past ; that*

— He fill'd his head

With all such reading as was never read ?

*If it was for this end---'Tis no wonder that the Iliad and Æneid were neglected ; for those noble works would have taught him to commend, not accuse the best of poets.*

*But it may be said,*

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis  
Tempus eget. —

*I have not the vanity to think that the  
fol-*

\* *Gent. Mag. Aug. p. 364 D.*



# P R E F A C E. iii

*following Letters are a perfect vindication of Milton; many arguments might be alledg'd, which may have escaped my observation; many proofs brought, which may be beyond the sphere of my reading. They were only intended to excite the admirers of our author to exert themselves in his cause. But as none have given a particular answer to all the charges that Mr Lauder has brought against the Poet, and as he has declined his future charges, I think it is highly necessary to examine the validity of what he has asserted already, lest he should imagine what he has alledg'd, unanswerable.*

*As my first letter (which was publish'd in the Gentleman's Magazine for July last) has met with approbation from the learned, I was encouraged to proceed in the further Vindication of Milton against Mr Lauder. My second Letter was scarce finished, before Mr Lauder's answer to the first, obliged me not only to defend Milton, but myself.*

*These Letters were wrote at several  
times,*

*times, and intended to be inserted occasionally in the Gentleman's Magazine; but as they are at length become a work too large for Mr Urban's monthly collection, they now appear (what I little expected) in a pamphlet.*

*If any thing in this attempt may tend to illustrate any part of Paradise Lost, or vindicate its great Author, I shall think my time well bestowed. If thro' inadvertency or inexperience (the common frailty of humanity) I have fallen into any error, I hope the good intent will compensate for the defects; for I do not accuse but defend the greatest poet of our nation. And if I am sometimes a little severe with my opponent, I must desire the reader to consider that I am engaged in the Vindication of MILTON.*

A VIN-

A  
VINDICATION  
OF  
MILTON, &c.

LETTER I.

[Harapha.] ——— *Thou'rt a revolter and a robber.*  
[Samson.] *Tongue-doughty giant, how dost thou  
prove me these?*

Milton's Samson Agonistes.

Mr URBAN,

SOME time has elapsed since your correspondent, Mr *Lauder*, first published his wonderful *Essay on Milton's Imitation of the Moderns*. I deferr'd giving you my private thoughts on it, both in expectation of seeing his arguments *particularly* refuted by a more able hand, and in hopes of your correspondent's fulfilling his promise to justify his assertions more largely in a pamphlet\*, which he has declin'd, and for his own credit I would have him decline, unless he brings *better specimens*, than he has in the *Magazine for January*, p. 24. *April*, p. 189, or more candid assertions

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\* See *Gent. Mag.* Vol. xvii. p. 82.

tions than in that of *February*, p. 82. I shall at present only consider the former; and if this meets with approbation, shall give you my thoughts on his further charges against *Milton*.

Before we examine the *particular* passages of the two poems of *Milton* and *Masenius*, I think it would not be improper to consider them in general. That of *Masenius* was publish'd (according to *January Magazine*, p. 2.) in the year 1654, or 1661, and *Paradise Lost* in 1667, and shewn as actually finished in 1665\*. And 'tis agreed by all, that this divine poem was wrote between the year 1665, and the year of his blindness 1650; and that he had long before chose the *Fall of Man* for his subject, is plain from the plans of his hand-writing in *Trinity College* library, and from his own words;

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\* This subject for heroic song  
Pleas'd me long chusing, and beginning late,  
*Par. Lost*, B. ix. v. 25.

From hence it clearly appears that *Milton's* poem was at least *begun* before that of *Masenius* was *publish'd*; which is sufficient for our present purpose, for the passages in question are in the *beginning* of the poems of their respective authors. Nor, in my opinion, is *Milton* more indebted to *Masenius* for his plan (which to me seems to be *widely different*, considering their subject was *the same*) than for the beginning of his poem.—Besides, it seems wonder-  
ful

\* *Mr John Richardson's Life of Milton*, p. cxi.

ful to me, that from the year in which *Paradise Lost* was publish'd to this time (which is 80 years) no *Bentley*, no *Hearne*, no penetrating genius but Mr *Lauder* should be so eagle-eye'd as to hit upon this *rare discovery*; and, especially at the time when *Masenius* was extant, when *Milton* was expos'd to \* darkness and evil tongues, that no public enemy should brand him with plagiarism.

But before I come to particulars, I must observe, that *Virgil* himself was not free from the like calumnies. *Macrobius* positively taxes that most noble poet with having translated, almost *word for word*, the whole 2d book of the *Æneas* from *Pisander*†, and the 4th from *Apollonius Rhodius*;‡ which invidious calumny ‡ Dr *Trapp* has proved to be absolutely false. And, I think, we may justly apply Mr *Voltaire*'s words in the defence of *Virgil* to the vindication of our much injur'd poet *Milton*||, “ That the only answer which is to be made  
“ to such discoveries, is, that such works are  
“ too

\* *Paradise Lost*, B. vii. v. 25.

† ‘ *Everfionem Trojæ, cum Sinone suo, & equo ligneo; cæterisque omnibus quæ librum secundum faciunt, a Pisandro pene ad verbum transcripserit.*’

*Saturn. Lib. v. Cap. 2.*

‡ ‘ *De Argonauticorum quarto, quorum scriptore est Apollonius, librum Æneidos suæ totum pene formaverit.*’

*Saturnal. Lib. v. Cap. 17.*

† In his note to B. ii. v. 16. of the *Æneid*. See likewise his note to B. iii. v. 719.

|| Essay on the Epic poetry of the *European* nations.



“ too great master-pieces of art to be but copies.”

Let us now consider the particular passages of the two poets, and first the *proposition*: What that is, will be best known by consulting the following verses of *Vida*.

*Vestibulum ante ipsum, primoque in limine semper  
Prudentes leviter rerum fastigia summa  
Libant, & parcis attingunt omnia dictis  
Quæ canere statuere.*—— Lib. ii.

This as a rule the noblest bards esteem,  
To touch at first in gen’ral on the theme;  
To hint at all the subject in a line,  
And draw in miniature the whole design.

*Mr Pitt’s Translation.*

If then the *proposition* is a short sketch of the contents of the whole poem, or the poem in miniature; and as *Milton* and *Masenius* wrote on the *very same* subject, how is it possible, unless they deviated from the true rules of poetry (and *Milton* was too great a judge to do so) that there should not be *some similitude* in their thoughts? But if the impartial reader carefully compares the beginning of the two poems, he will find that nothing could be more wide and different than their manner of expression, considering the thought and subject were common to them both; and will agree with your judicious correspondent, p. 68 B.  
“ That if *Milton* had ever seen *Masenius*, and  
“ in any sort attempted to borrow from him,  
“ his poem would neither have been *the same*,  
“ nor

“ nor so good as it is.” *Masenius*, in his *proposition*, neither mentions the *forbidden fruit*, nor the *loss of Paradise*, which (according to his marginal heads) he ought to have done, as they are constituent parts of his poem; these *Milton* judiciously inserts in his *proposition*, and adds, *Till one greater man*, &c. of which there is not so much as a thought in *Masenius*.

*Quæ citbaræ quondam nervos, artemque regebas  
Jeshada, &c.* MASENIUS.

———— Didst inspire  
That shepherd, &c. MILTON.

Either these passages are not parallel, or *that Shepherd*, i. e. *Moses*, must be *David*. Here is another instance of *Milton*'s judgment (who intended to sing

In the beginning how the heav'ns and earth  
Rose out of *Chaos*.——)

to mention *Moses*, who relates how “ In the “ beginning God created the heaven and the “ earth,” and whose steps he intended to follow in his sublime description of the creation. Was I of Mr *Laurel*'s clan, I should rather think that *Cowley*, in the beginning of his *Davideis*, has copied this last sentence of *Masenius*, rather than *Milton*.

*Non mihi Pieridum lymphæ, Cirrhæque recessus, &c.*

Unfortunately for himself, unfortunately for his beloved author, does this gentleman quote this place ;

place ; for there is not a syllable like it in *Milton*. And now *Masenius himself* must be taxed with *imitating the moderns*, for it very much resembles the following lines of *Caspar Barlaeus* \*.

*Cyrrha vale, Phœbique domus, non Castalis amnis,  
Non levat ipsa meam Phocidos unda sitim.  
Tu mihi, Calliope, &c.*

But here *Masenius* shall have a more candid treatment from me than *Milton* has met with lately ; for I cannot persuade myself to hold this maxim, “ That no body must pretend to “ write any thing of *his own*, because another “ has wrote *before him*.”

As *Masenius* and *Milton* were both christian poets, and their subject founded on the same parts of holy writ, 'twas necessary that they should invoke *that spirit* which directed the divine pen-man. *Milton's* great judgment in this case has already been mentioned.

The foregoing arguments on the *proposition* will serve in general for the *invocation*. What now deserves our more particular consideration are these passages :

————— *Omnia namque  
Te duetrice patent ; rerumque occulta tueris  
Prima opifex, nostræ spectatrix prima ruinae !*

MASENIUS.

Instruct me, for *thou know'st* ; thou from the first  
*Wast present*. —————

MILTON.

These I confess to be *parallel*, tho' not *imitated*  
from

\* P. 338. Edit. Elzevir, Anno 1631.

[ 11 ]

from *Masenius*, who, with *Milton*, closely follows the steps of *Homer*.

Ἵμεῖς γὰρ Θεοὶ ἐσμεν, ΠΑΡΕΨΤΕ ΤΕ ΎΙΣΤΕ ΤΕ  
ΠΑΝΤΑ. *Iliad*. II. 485.

— And with mighty wings outspread  
Dovelike sat'ft brooding on the vast abyfs,  
And mad'ft it pregnant.—

I cannot pafs over these beautiful lines (tho' somewhat foreign to our purpose) which may be overlook'd by an ordinary reader. The poet here alludes to the 3d chapter, ver. 22, of *St Luke*, where the holy spirit is represented in a *bodily appearance*, annexing the idea of *brooding*, which is imply'd in that expressive word of *Moses*, מְרַחֵץ, \* which our translation renders *mov'd*. Is this too *imitated* from *Masenius*? Or rather, has that Jesuit three verses in his whole poem equal to these in *Milton*, so noble, yet clear; so simple, yet learned and elegant?

*Audior? En facili rapior per inane volatu, &c.*

MASENIUS.

This passage, says Mr *Lauder*, *Milton* has pass'd over; and, I think, 'twas necessary he should; since *Masenius* is now got above the clouds, and consequently out of sight.

*Tu mihi tantarum, &c.*

MASENIUS.

Say first, for heav'n, &c.

MILTON.

If there is *any thing* parallel in these passages, it is so *very little*, that *the one* can no more be thought

\* *Gen*. i. 2.

thought to be an imitation of *the other*, than *Virgil's* description of a horse to be copied from *Job*. The similitude of thought arises from the imitation of nature, which is the same, and always will be so; and that from the identity of the subject, which was derived from the same stream of the holy scriptures, as the candid reader will find, by impartially comparing the passages of either poet. This and the foregoing reasons may be apply'd to vindicate our author from the last charge of plagiarism, in copying in more places than one *Masenius's* description of *Paradise*. I wish your correspondent had pointed them out, and told us where they were copy'd in *Paradise Lost*; for there are many descriptions of *Paradise* dispers'd thro' the poem, some of which consist of more than 100 lines. But *Milton*, who had *Homer* almost by heart, and comes nearest to his style of any poet, if he chose to transplant any flowers into his Garden of *Eden*, would certainly gather them from the gardens of *Alcinous*, which he almost confesses he has regarded.

——— Or where

*Alcinous* reign'd, fruit of all kinds, &c.

And again,

Spot more delicious than those gardens feign'd,

Or of reviv'd *Adonis*, or renown'd

*Alcinous*.

*Parad. Lost*. ix. 439.

To crown the whole criticism, *i. e.* the whole invective against *Milton*, Mr *Lauder* concludes,



cludes, *That he that can imagine that Milton could have wrote as he had done, without ever seeing or bearing of Masenius's performance, may with equal reason assert, that a limner may draw a man's picture exactly like the original without ever seeing him* : That is, in plain English, *Milton's poem is exactly like Masenius's.* But if I may be allow'd the presumption to oppose my judgment against so great a critic's authority, I would ask, Whether it is strange or absurd to suppose, that two pictures by two different hands should have a *general likeness*, which are drawn from the same original ?

*I am, SIR, Yours, &c.*

R. R.



## LETTER II.

— Ignorantly read,  
With loads of learned lumber in his head ;  
With him most authors steal their works, or buy ;  
*Garth* did not write his own Dispensary.

*POPE's Essay on Criticism.*

Mr URBAN,

**M**R *Addison*, who was not only a good poet, but a judicious critic, after having pointed out some lofty sentiments and daring flights of the great author of *Paradise Lost*,

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*Loft*, assures his readers that he enter'd upon the imperfections of that divine poem, as a very ungrateful work : and by his own conduct and example strengthens his assertion, " That a true critic ought to dwell rather upon excellencies than imperfections, to discover the concealed beauties of a writer, and communicate such things as are *worth their observation*." Of what use then can Mr *Lauder's* trivial charges against *Milton* be to the learned world, who endeavours by his unjust assertions to depreciate the writings of that noble author, who is an honour not only to our nation, but to mankind in general ? But his air-drawn dagger, tho' levell'd at *Milton's* reputation, will fall short of its intended aim, and only make impression on the shallow judgments of a few half-read wits, who will greedily swallow his assertions, whilst men of candour and learning will easily discern the true modern critic, whose thoughts are wholly turn'd upon *detraction*.

So sensible was Mr *Lauder* of this, so conscious of the gall in his own breast, that, to conceal his design, and make his charges more palatable, very formally declares, " that in order to prevent mistakes and misconstructions, he no way intended to derogate from the glory or merit of that noble poet," &c. (*Gent. Mag.* Vol. xvii. p. 24 A.) But in the sequel of his writings he strangely forgets himself, and is glad of any opportunity to lessen *Milton's*

*Milton's* reputation.——Mr *Peck* conjectures (and it is only a conjecture) that *Milton* translated *Buchanan's Baptistes*; but Mr *Lauder* wonderfully improves that hint, and heaps conjectures on conjectures. Mr *Peck* thinks that *Milton* (who was of an aspiring genius) designed to rival *Shakespeare*, and to be prince of the *English* Drama, as he is of the Epic; and, to that intent, had form'd a design of writing those tragedies which are specified in the papers of his own hand-writing in *Trinity-college* library: But Mr *Lauder*, with his usual infallibility affirms, "That they were only titles of tragedies already written by learned men in *Latin* verse; I AFFIRM (says he) that *Milton's Adam unparadis'd* was only a translation of the *Adamus Exul* of *Grotius*." (*Gent. Mag.* p. 82 A). But how can this gentleman AFFIRM so positively this last assertion; for if *Milton* had intended merely to translate *Grotius's* tragedy, why did he form so many plans \* of his *Adam unparadis'd*, and correct them so often? He could not be more peremptory if he had compar'd *Milton's* tragedies (which were never yet in being, or if they were, are lost) with those in *Latin* which bear the same titles. But by good luck *Samson Agonistes* (the only tragedy extant of *Milton's*) is among Mr *Lauder's* catalogue, and which he says is translated from *Hieronymus Zieglerus*. Now if he can prove this assertion (and what will

\* They may be seen in *Peck's* memoirs of *Milton*.

will the world think of him if he cannot ?) it will much strengthen his authority, and ascertain his conjectures. But to bring no better reasons than he has done, that *Milton* is a servile translator, because others wrote *before* him on the *same subjects*, is strange logic indeed ! This argument (if it be an argument) proves *too much*, as the logicians say, and consequently *nothing* ; or, in other words, his *charges* are *over-charg'd*. For I may with equal reason assert, that *Lee's* and *Dryden's Oedipus* is only a translation of *Seneca*, because they wrote a tragedy on the same subject ; and that *Seneca's Oedipus* is copied from *Sophocles*, because that poet wrote the *Oedipus Tyrannus* before ; and 'twould be a pretty compliment to Mr *Thompson* to affirm that his tragedy of *Agamemnon* is but a *copy*, because one of *Seneca's* bears the *same title*. Besides, Mr *Lauder* seems to be acquainted with *Milton's* natural genius and temper, better than *Milton* was himself ; for he declares in his writings, " That he never could  
 " delight in *long citations*, much less in *whole*  
 " *translations* : whether (says he) it be natural  
 " disposition or education in me, or that my  
 " mother bore me a speaker of what God  
 " made *mine own*, and not a *translator*." — *Milton* must be fond of *translating* indeed to employ himself with above 60 tragedies of other poets, and a notorious plagiarist to espouse them all for *his own* !

As we have not *Grotius's* tragedy entire, and

as

as Mr *Lauder* seems not to have given us his full thoughts how much *Milton* may be indebted to that learned author, I shall defer my thoughts on that subject, and proceed to another work which he is pleas'd to consider, Mr *A. Ramsay's Poemata Sacra*. *G. Mag.* p. 189.

Here this gentleman's great zeal for the glory and merit of *Milton* appears in full view. 'Tis *aut viam inveniam aut faciam* with him. He is not only very sedulous to prove that the poet has stole from *Ramsay*, *totidem sententiis*, but will undertake with *Peter\** (who was a rare critic at such discoveries) to find him out *totidem verbis*; and who knows but at length he will proceed, with his brother projector, to *totidem syllabis*, or even to *totidem literis*? 'Tis a pity the poor man should be so hard driven for arguments, as to be obliged to assert that *Milton* calls *Adam* a man of clay, and *son of despight*, because "*Ramsay* also expressed the same sentiments before him." His words are *terræ filius*, and *pulvere cretus*; but where has he a word equivalent to *son of despight* in Mr *Lauder's* quotation? But, granting he has—Are we not inform'd by holy writ, that "God formed man out of the dust of the ground?" *Gen.* ii. 7. Does not the word אָדָם, *Adam*, from אֲדָמָה *Adamah*, the earth, imply the same? Are not the scriptures as open for *Milton* as Mr *Ramsay*?—† *Son of despight* is a beautiful He-

\* Tale of a tub.  
ix. 189 and 653.

† See *Paradise Lost*, B. I. 501.



Hebraism (I hope Mr *Lauder* will allow that *Milton* understood *Hebrew*, tho' he will scarce allow him to be an author). Thus, not to mention many other instances in the sacred writings, the † sparks are called sons of the fire in *Job*; and || arrows the sons of the quiver, in the Lamentations of *Jeremiah* in the original *Hebrew*. Agreeably to this, the day is called by *Pindar*, the child of the Sun. This manner of expression the poets improved in their fictions, and apply'd to characters in real life. Thus the heroes of antiquity, on account of some personal qualifications, are said to be the offspring of some particular deity. *Romulus*, *Æsculapius*, *Æneas*, *Orpheus* are the poetical sons of *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, and *Calliope*; thus G. S.\* who confesses the muses to be a little out of his road, may properly be called a true son of of Mr *Lauder* and the Goddess *Credulity*. — Mr *Lauder* had dealt more fairly with his readers, if he had told them in what part of *Milton's* poem *man of clay*, and *son of despight* were to be found, that they might compare it with his quotation, and thereby be more able to judge and examine the truth of his assertion.

† *Job* v. 7.      || *Lament.* iii. 13.

\* This gentleman has so great an esteem for Mr *Lauder's* productions, and is so well persuaded of the truth of his assertions, as to conjecture that *Milton* contracted the epidemical disease of punning, or playing upon words, from *Masenius*! *Gent. Mag.* p. 202. But as I think I have proved that *Parad. Lost* was begun (and probably finished) before *Masenius* was publish'd, his superstructure must consequently sink with its foundation.

on. These expressions are in the speech of *Satan*, immediately before he enter'd into the Serpent, *B. ix. v. 176.* The reader will see their great propriety, by carefully considering the whole speech, and its particular circumstances (too long to be inserted here) but more especially these preceding verses:

— Or, to spite us more,  
 Determin'd to advance into our room  
 A creature form'd of earth, and him endow,  
 Exalted from so base original,  
 With heav'nly spoils; our spoils.—

And immediately after,

— And, O indignity!  
 Subjected to his service angel-wings,  
 And flaming ministers to watch and tend  
 Their earthly charge.—

I shall not obtrude my thoughts on this fine speech, nor descant upon this noble repetition, occasion'd by *Satan's* contempt of man's earthly original, but shall only desire the reader to apply the 20th section of *Longinus*, and the 11th section of the 4th Chap. of Mr *Blackwall's* Introduction to the classics.

“*Milton* (says Mr *Lauder*) represents the devil flattering *Eve* with lofty appellations, such as *sovereign of creatures! universal dame!*” &c. And what is the strong argument he produces to demonstrate that they cannot be *Milton's* own? Why, because *Ramsay* has said somewhat like it before

*O terræ pelagique potens! &c.*

This

This Argument being so infallible, so very convincing, and of which Mr *Lauder* is so very fond (and he had need, since it is really his *only one*) as to apply it to *every conjecture* he produces, methinks it very much resembles \* *Peter's universal pickle*, on the virtue of which he so much rely'd as to apply it to *every thing* indifferently. Silence best suits these trivial cavils, these meer word-batteries; as the philosopher confuted an impertinent objection against motion only by *walking*:—To write a formal answer to it, would be as absurd as discharging a large cannon at a wasp. —If he had ever read old *Chaucer's wife of Bath's* tale, or had been half an hour among the ladies before he took up his pen, the learned world would never have been indebted to him for this rare criticism.

Earth felt the wound, &c. *Par. Lost*, B. ix. v. 782.

Earth trembled from her entrails, &c. *P. lost*, B. ix.

*Tum cælum in labi*, &c.

RAMSAY.

In the *Latin* verses there is scarce a word of *Ramsay's* own; 'tis a perfect cento from various parts of the *Æneid*. But *Milton* has caught fire from the *Mantuan* poet, and improv'd the blaze.

— *Prima & Tellus & pronuba Juno*

*Dant signum; fulsere ignes & conscius æther*

*Connubiis, summoque ulularunt vertice nymphae.*

*Æneid*. iv. 166.

\* Tale of a Tub,

Ut

*Ut sanctum pectus non hoc penetrabile tela  
Viderit, &c.*

RAMSAY.

—— With tract oblique  
At first, as one who sought access, &c. MILTON.

I shall first consider the circumstances of these families; *Milton* applies it to the serpent's wreathings and oblique motions; *Ramsay* to *Satan* tempting our Saviour. One would therefore be induc'd to think that if *Milton* had ever seen these lines of *Ramsay*, and intended to copy them, he would have inserted them in his *Paradise Regain'd*. But is it impossible (especially in families, which are the resemblances of one thing in some of its modes to another) for two poets to have some thoughts which bear a near resemblance? Is not this confirm'd by daily experience? Have not the heathen philosophers and historians expressions exactly parallel to some passages in holy writ? We have reason to believe that *some* of them might be taken from scripture, but to affirm that they were *all*, would be a flagrant presumption. But perhaps what has been said will not satisfy Mr *Lauder*, who is very apt to suspect *Milton*. Let us therefore enquire whether there is any thing in the classics similar to this passage in *Milton*. I was once inclined to think that *Milton* had the fifth *Æneid* in his view, where the ship of the unfortunate *Sergestus* is compared to a serpent,

D

Nex-

*Nexantem nodos, seque in sua membra plicantem.  
Tali REMIGIO navis se tarda movebat.*

There are some strokes in the beautiful description of a harmless serpent gliding about the tomb of *Anchises*, which bear a great affinity to *Milton's*, and might bring these verses of *Virgil* into his mind; and as the motion and working of a ship has been compar'd by *Virgil* to the motions of a serpent, could not *Milton* apply it *vice versa*? — But after all I find *Milton* to be his own best commentator; within three lines of the similitude are these remarkable words:

—— or the God

In *Epidaurus*. *Par. Lost*, ix. 506.

Here the poet points with his finger, as it were, to the 15th book of *Ovid's Metamorphosis*, where 'tis visible to any one that the *English* poet has trac'd the *Roman* throughout the whole fable of the transformation of *Æsculapius*; and from the various circumstances of the ship which carries into port the god in the serpent (parallel to which is *Satan* in the serpent in *Paradise Lost*) has composed this fine similitude, and like the *Phrygian* king turns all that he touches into gold.

*I am, S I R, Yours, &c.*

R. R.

LET-



## L E T T E R III.

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 False

Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.

*Parad. Regain'd.*

MR *Lauder*, in his \* answer to my first defence of *Milton*, has been pleas'd to charge me with wilful prevarication. I think it therefore incumbent on me to vindicate myself from this imputation, lest the reader should be byass'd with an opinion of my being an *unfair disputant* (with which title Mr *Lauder* has honoured me) and consequently give less credence to this, and my former defences of our *English* poet.

'Tis true, I asserted. (p. 6) and here again repeat my assertion, That *Paradise Lost* was written between the year of *Milton's* blindness, 1650, and 1665. By this I did not affirm, that he began his poem *precisely* when he labour'd under the pain and misfortune of losing his eyes, but *about that time* (according to the universal consent of biographers) at least *before Masenius was published*; and that I thought was sufficient, since the passages in question were at the beginning of the poems of their respective authors. Mr *John Richardson* does not say *expressly*, but only that it was † *probable* that *Milton* did not assiduously apply himself to

\* *Gent. Mag. Aug.* p. 364. † *Life of Milton*, p. 110.

to this work till the year 1660. But does this argue that *Paradise Lost* was not begun before? He might have made some progress in it by that time, but being diverted from this great work by other writings and obstructions, did not apply himself to *Paradise Lost*, and that only, till the Restoration.

I quoted Mr *Richardson* to prove that *Paradise Lost* was actually shewn as done to *Elwood*, one of *Milton's* intimate friends, in the year 1665. It might have been finished long before; and *Milton*, who was remarkably exact in his writings, might have taken some time in correcting and revising, and his friends in transcribing it. Mr *Richardson* must certainly be in an error to assert that *Milton* did not set about this work in earnest till the Restoration; for *Paradise Lost* was undoubtedly a work of time: It was no flashy production of haste, or the warm starts and fallies of an heated imagination, but of a close and well-digested reading, solid judgment, and indefatigable labour and application. \* It is reported (and there are some passages in his † writings to countenance the tradition) that *Milton's* fancy made the happiest flights in the spring, and that he wrote

\* *Fenton's* life of *Milton*. Edit. 1738. p. 26.

† Eleg. 6. In adventum Veris.

*Fallor? an & nobis redeunt in carmina vires,  
Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest.*

*Par. Lost*. B. ix. v. 44.— Unless an age too late, or cold  
Climate, or years, damp my intended wing  
Depress'd. ————

wrote *Paradise Lost* and the best of his other poems, in the spring and summer. Now, after these considerations, can it be reasonably supposed that an epic poem (which is said to be the greatest work that human nature is capable of) could be brought to perfection between the years 1660 and 1665? that the great, the sublime poem of *Paradise Lost* was the mushroom product of five years or less! He that can suppose this, may imagine that *Rome* and *Constantinople* were built in a day, or any thing else however absurd and impossible.

But as Mr *Lauder* has been so kind as to grant for argument, "that *Milton* began his poem in the year of his blindness 1650," I cannot but grant him something in return for that favour. What if, against the whole stream of biographers, I venture to assert that *Milton* began his poem before the *Salmasian* controversy? In defence of this assertion, I shall produce his own words in an extract of a letter to *Henry Oldenburg*, Anno 1654.—"These unforeseen controversies with the adversaries of liberty dragg'd me unwillingly intent upon very different and much more delightful subjects\*." 'Tis to be consider'd likewise that

\* Mr *Richardson* (from whose *Life of Milton*, p. 84. I have taken this extract) thinks nevertheless that at this time *Milton* was only entering upon his work. I submit the whole letter to the reader's consideration.—Mr *Lauder* does not deny that *Milton's* plan was form'd in the year 1654 (the very time that this letter was wrote, and *Marston*

that *Milton* was engaged in other writings of great length and labour, during the time of his blindness, some of which he completed. (See *Wood's Fasti Oxon.* Edit. 1721, p. 265). *Milton's* blindness subjected him to many inconveniencies and disappointments; he was oblig'd to his friends to read to him, and write what he dictated; the decline of the *Oliverian* cause involv'd him in many perplexities; which, were there no other reasons, would persuade me that *Paradise Lost* was a work of time.

As Mr *Lauder* has thought fit to examine my account of the æra of *Milton's* poem, he cannot take it amiss if I examine that of *Masenius*.

*Masenius* is said to be published in 1654 or 1661. (*Gent. Mag. Jan.* p. 2.)—This word OR is equivocal, and bears two senses. It may signify that *Masenius* was published either in 1654 or 1661, 'twas doubtful which. I oblig'd Mr *Lauder* in supposing the former date, which I think was no small favour; for if I had taken the latter (which I might with equal rea-

*senius* publish'd) and consequently the words "intent upon very different and much more delightful subjects," are only a recapitulation of what goes before, "Now that I have done with these disputes, I prepare for other things, I know not whether more noble or more useful, &c." These passages can only have a reference to *Paradise Lost*, upon which his mind was then intent. They more than hint that the tedious controversies in which *Milton* was engag'd, interrupted him in the progress of his poem, and having dispatch'd them, he prepar'd himself for a more noble work, *Paradise Lost*, which he resum'd again with fresh delight.

reason, as the dates are uncertain) it would have sunk his conjectures so low, as to render the interval of time very small between the publication of *Masenius* and the year 1665, when *Paradise Lost* was in manuscript, which (as I have observ'd) might have been finished some time before. — But the word *OR* may import that *Masenius's* poem underwent *two impressions*, one in the year 1654, the other in 1661; and consequently must be much approv'd by the learned. So that among the enemies of *Milton*, *one* at least might easily have detected him, and attack'd his fame, when his poem and that of *Masenius* (which was then in repute, and the copies not scarce, supposing *two editions* to have been publish'd) first appeared in the world; and some antiquarian in his laborious researches, out of dear envy or pride, might have stript him of his borrow'd plumes. But none of these, not even a *Dennis*, have dar'd such indignities to the poet before Mr *Lauder*.

I am sensible that it will be objected here; that if *Milton* wrote any part of his *Paradise Lost* before his blindness, it was little or nothing; the first or second books at most; since he mentions his loss of sight at the beginning of the 3d book. I do not pretend to say how far our great author proceeded in his work, but only that his plan was determin'd, or perhaps his poem begun before his blindness. Nor can this objection determine that the 2d book must be



be the last that *Milton* wrote before he was de-priv'd of the use of his eyes; since the *Hymn to Light* is not, properly speaking, a part of the poem, but only an *excrecence* (as Mr *Addison* calls it) and might be inserted afterwards. The 3d book might begin with,

Now had th' Almighty Father from above,  
From the pure Empyrean, &c.

which bears a close and immediate connection with the end of the 2d book.

Nor does this lay me open to another objection that might be alledg'd, That tho' *Milton* might have made some considerable progress in his poem, yet upon seeing *Masenius's* performance afterwards, he might copy the beginning from him. But the exordium of the poem (as I observed p. 8) is a *short sketch* of the whole poem in miniature, and the *Hymn to Light* only an *excrecence* of the poem, which might be inserted or omitted at the author's pleasure; so that if *Milton* had formed his plan and compos'd his poem according to it, it was impossible for him to write his exordium otherwise than he has done, or copy it from *Masenius*, unless he had expung'd his former labours, and begun his poem afresh. If we may judge of *Masenius's* character as a poet, from the specimens and plan that Mr *Lauder* has given us, I cannot think that the fame of his poem could spread so far as these kingdoms, or so quick as to afford *Milton* the opportunity of taking advantage from it as soon

as publish'd, and therefore, if *Milton* had ever heard of this choice work, it must have been very late, and *Paradise Lost* almost finish'd. Nor does *Masenius's* poem seem to me to be so very exquisite, nor *Milton's* want of art and genius so very great, as to oblige him to borrow the plan and beginning of his poem from the Jesuit. Mr *Addison* has bestow'd the greatest encomiums on *Milton's* exordium, which he never would have done, if it had been botch'd up with some of his own thoughts and some of another's, or, as *Horace* expresses it,

——— *Unus & alter*  
*Affuitur pannus.*

But if any one will venture to affirm that *Milton* might have wrote his beginning afterwards, he may readily subscribe to the ingenious scheme of *Gulliver's* feather-headed projector, who (to go out of the common road) propos'd to build a house, and begin his airy structure at the top.

I proceed now to the next work that Mr *Lauder* has cut out for me, "To shew how it should happen that *the infernal council, or Pandæmonium; Lucifer's habit and chariot; the fight of the angels; the excursion of the fallen spirits from hell, became common to both authors.*"

The great Mr *Locke* judiciously observes,\* that we must not entertain any proposition with greater assurance than the *proofs* it is built up-

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\* Chapter of Enthusiasm. Sect. I.

on will warrant.—For the evidence that any proposition is true (except such as are self-evident) lying only in the *proofs a man has of it*, whatsoever degrees of assent he affords it *beyond* the degrees of that evidence, 'tis plain that surplussage of assurance is owing to some other affection, and not the love of truth. How then can Mr *Lauder* expect a direct answer to these slight accusations, to confirm which he can bring no solid and satisfactory proof? Would he have me convert a shadow into substance, or build a structure without materials? How can I or any one else that never saw the poem of *Masenius*. be assured that it contains *any of these heads*? Or if it did, can I tell what thoughts, words or expressions are contained in *these out-lines*? A painter may with equal reason shew me a portrait which he had just chalk'd out, and demand of me an exact description of the features and complexion of the face, and colour of the drapery. What authority does he produce, that these, and the other marginal heads he produces in *January Magazine* are really in *Masenius*?—his own. On what sufficient grounds is this charge against *Milton* built?—Why truly, *his own* infallible memory and impartiality, of which he has given us some *excellent specimens* in his writings. Are these slight assertions, these *ipse dixits* sufficient to tear the laurel that *Milton* has so long deservedly wore? This gentleman is not only plaintiff, but jury and umpire in his *own cause*:  
and

and therefore I would advise him for the future to forbear taxing any one with being an *unfair disputant*. If he would maintain the opposite character, I would recommend these lines of *Horace* to his consideration:

— *Volet hæc sub luce videri,  
Judicis argutum quæ non formidat acumen.*

But under all these difficulties, I must cleanse this *Augean* stable, and that in *the dark*, in which my antagonist has for good reasons intrench'd himself, and am constrain'd to cry out with the distress'd *Greek* in *Homer*,

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀλλὰ σὺ εἶσαι ὅπ' ἥρως υἷος Ἀχαιῶν,  
Ποίνων δ' αἰθρῶν, δὲ δ' ὀρσζαλμῶν ἰδέσθαι,  
'Εν δὲ ρέει κ' ἔλεσσαν——. *Iliad*. P. v. 645.

Yet I will venture, tho' on such *unequal* and *unfair* terms, to prove that *Milton* was no imitator of *Masenius*.

Among the marginal heads in *January Magazine* is *Concilium inferorum*, *five Pandæmonium*, the infernal council, or *Pandæmonium*.

I shrewdly suspect that the two last words are a gloss of Mr. *Lauder's* to support a bad cause.—Be that as it will, it appears from the word *or* that *Masenius* has only an infernal council; *Milton* has one (perhaps not a word of it like *Masenius*) and a† *Pandæmonium* too, which are *two things*, and as different from each other as the *grand council of this nation* and the *parliament*—

† A gentleman informs me that the word *Pandæmonium* is exactly conformable to *Panætolium*, and other words of the like nature in *Plutarch*.

*liament-house*.—But I will not obtrude my own words, when I can bring *Milton* to answer for himself. “*Pandæmonium, the palace of Satan*, rises suddenly out of the deep [*is that copy’d from Masenius?*] the infernal peers there sit in council.”—Argument of the 1st B.

*Milton*, in imitation of his favourite *Homer*, begins his poem with an infernal council. I say in imitation of *Homer*, not of *Masenius*. The Jesuit’s is in all respects different from *Milton*’s. *Paradise Lost* opens with an infernal council, which is continu’d and brought to an end in the 2d book, and takes up a great part of the poem. But that of *Masenius* seems not to be of any great length, and (according to the place Mr *Lauder* has assign’d it in his marginal heads) I guess ’tis in the middle of his poem, at least very far from the beginning. And if the persons in council are *Mors*, *Senectus*, *Curæ*, *Labor*, *Luctus*, *Paupertas*, *Fames*, *Dolus*, they must speak in character, and consequently there cannot be a speech in this council like any in *Milton*. Neither are the streams from whence these two poets deriv’d their characters, the same. *Milton* takes them from holy writ, *Masenius* from the 6th *Æneid*.

*Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci  
Luctus & ultrices posuere cubilia Curæ;  
Pallentisque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,  
Et Metus, & malefuada Fames, & turpis Egestas;  
Terribiles visu formæ, Letumque Labosque.*

These seem to be the *inferno erumpentes Furie*



*rice* in *Masenius*; one of which (*Deceit*) persuades *Eve* to eat the forbidden fruit. That these are the infernal spirits is plain from Mr *Lauder's* translation of *inferno erumpentes Furia*, the excursion of the fallen spirits from hell.

But this is wide from any thing that I can find in *Paradise Lost*.—*Satan* indeed, in the 2d book, passes from hell to this world to work the destruction of mankind, and after the fall of man, *Sin* and *Death*

Following his track (such was the will of heav'n)  
Pav'd after him a \* broad and beaten way  
Over the dark abyfs.—— ii. 1025.

These are the only fallen spirits in *Milton* that make their excursion from hell. And as yet the beautiful allegory of *Sin* and *Death* is wholly *Milton's own*; for I don't find that Mr *Lauder* has attempted to wrest that from him. 'Tis hinted indeed that after *Sin* and *Death* had pav'd the way from hell to our earth

—— The spirits perverse  
With easy intercourse pass to and fro  
To punish mortals.—— ii. 1030.

And in the 10th book,

—— A monument  
Of merit high to all th' infernal host;  
Easing their passage hence for intercourse  
Of transmigration as their lot shall lead.  
x. v. 258.

And

And again, in *Satan's* speech to the infernal angels.

— A \* broad way now is pav'd  
To expedite your glorious march. —

But whatever be *Masenius's* excursion of the *Furies* from hell, 'tis different from *Milton's* both in *matter* (as was prov'd before) and in *circumstances*; for in *Masenius* it is *before the fall of man* (see the marginal heads in *Jan. Mag.* p. 26 B.) in *Milton* an *immediate consequence of it*; the former is contrary, the latter exactly conformable to scripture.

But he [*Satan*] once past soon after when man fell,  
Strange alteration, Sin and Death amain  
Following his track, &c. ii. 1023.

*Milton's* sublime genius, only from a *small hint* in the sacred or profane writings, has form'd some very *material circumstances* in his poem. I shall only trouble the reader with an instance of each.

From two small passages in scripture, 2 Cor. xi. v. 14. *For Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light*; and Rev. xix. v. 17. *I saw an angel standing in the sun*, arose that noble and important circumstance of *Satan* and *Uriel* at the end of the third book, and which gave occasion to the greatest part of the fourth.

From this passage of *Virgil*

— *Strictisque seges mucronibus horret*  
*Ferrea.* Æn. xii.

Nay

\* Matt. vii. v. 13.

Nay; from the single word *seges* our poet has struck out a simile, which neither *Phæbus* nor his son *Homer* might blush to own,

— And began to hem him round  
With darted spears, as thick as when a field  
Of *Ceres*, &c. *iv.* 980.

The same noble genius has extracted from several parts of scripture (not taking his eye from the Classics) the whole allegory of *Sin* and *Death*; 'tis foreign to my purpose to point them out severally; the following passages will sufficiently prove that the excursion of *Sin* and *Death*, and afterwards of the fallen angels in *Milton*, are not copied from *Masenius*. And I looked, and behold, a pale horse (see *Parad. Lost*, x. 589.) and his name that sat on him was *Death*, and *Hell* (i. e. the powers of hell) followed with him; and power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, &c. *Rev.* vi. v. 8. By one man *Sin* entred into the world, and *Death* by *Sin*. *Rom.* v. v. 12. Many passages in *Paradise Lost* induce me to think that *Milton* did not forget the 9th chapter of the *Revelations* when he compos'd this fine allegory. — But I forget my task, I am not a commentator but a defender of *Milton*.

If my defence was as short as Mr *Lauder's* proofs, that *Milton* copied *Satan's* habit and chariot from *Masenius*, 'twou'd be little better than silence, which best suits such groundless cavils. Are not such descriptions to be found  
in

in the works of the antients? *Homer* and *Virgil* have chariots and habits both of gods and men; *Milton* might consult them and the other poets of antiquity. But granting they have no such descriptions, our great poet, who (whatever Mr *Lauder* thinks of him) is not inferior to any of the antients, whose divine muse could describe a creation with ease and sublimity, could not be at a loss to furnish the *Apostate* with a chariot. He might have wrote

High in the midst exalted as a god  
Th' *Apostate*, in his sun-bright chariot sat  
Idol of majesty divine——

tho' he had never consulted antiquity, tho' *Homer* and *Virgil* (much less an *unnoted Jesuit*) had never been born.—'Tis a pity Mr *Lauder*'s memory, which could supply him with a hundred or two lines at the beginning of *Masenius*, should fail him here; that we should be deprived of the opportunity of comparing (if there be any comparison between them) the *Latin* and the *English* poets. But this would bring affairs too much into the light (of which he is very shy) and consequently his arguments would be easily seen thro'.

If Mr *Lauder* had the luck to prove his assertion, that *Milton* has copied from *Masenius* the *Gigantomachia*, or, as he translates it, the *fight of the Angels*, he would take the whole sixth book of *Paradise Lost* from him: but this he never will be able to do, till he has expung'd

pung'd the battle of the *Titans* out of *Hesiod* and the classics, and these verses out of *St John's Revelation*. *And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels; and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.*

Our author in composing his poem has consulted the *Revelation of St John* more than any book in holy writ; from whence (if necessary) I could deduce the revolt of the angels in the fifth book of *Paradise Lost*, and many other circumstances relating to the battle of the angels. I will add this general remark, which will serve as a test to try the standard of Mr *Lauder's* assertions, that *Milton* is an imitator of *Masenius*. In his other charges against the Poet he only picks out some passages of a few lines, which he produces as parallel to others in *Milton*. But he taxes *Milton* with borrowing from *Masenius by the lump*. He would take away from him not only the main part of *Paradise Lost*, viz. the whole *exordium* of his poem, the battle of the *Angels*, &c. but even the whole plan. One would therefore imagine that *Masenius's* was a large work, at least equal in length to *Paradise Lost*. But *Paradise Lost* consists of twelve books and near 11,000 lines,

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and



and *Masenius's* poem, according to Mr *Lauder's* account, only of five books, and 2500 lines.

I am surprized that Mr *Lauder* should bring this last injurious accusation to diminish the Poet's reputation; if he had ever read (which he undoubtedly has) the 333d *Spectator* before he undertook that ungrateful task. I shall beg leave, for the further vindication of *Milton*, to transcribe the great Mr *Addison's* words in the aforesaid *Spectator*: "We are in some measure prepar'd for such an incident by the description of the giant's war, which we meet with among the antient poets. What still made the circumstance the more proper for the poet's use, is the opinion of many learned men, that the fable of the giant's war, which makes so great a noise in antiquity, and gave birth to the sublimest descriptions in *Hesiod's* works, was an allegory founded upon this very tradition of a fight between the good and bad angels."

The *Adamus Exul* of *Grotius* is another work that Mr *Lauder* has produc'd, and on which he expects I should give my thoughts. That *Milton* did not intend to translate this tragedy I have prov'd already, p. 15; but that he has borrow'd some phrases of that learned author, I do not pretend to disprove.\*

But

\* A gentleman who signs C. B. has anticipated me in proving that the quotations from *Paradise Lost*, in *February Magazine*, might be *Milton's* own, without drawing to his assist-

But, nevertheless, there are some passages which Mr *Lauder* has produced as parallel, that

assistance any thought of *Grotius's*, or any one else. He has omitted *Nam me judice*, &c. which Mr *Lauder* says, *Milton* has literally translated, and on which he expects my opinion.—I shall therefore consider this and Mr *Lauder's* quotations in *June Magazine*, p. 286. 'Tis probable that *Milton* has copied this sentence from *Grotius*. But by the way, I must observe, that the thought is not *Grotius's* own, he has taken it from *Æschylus*.

—εκ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλων ἴστω

Κρίσσειν γὰρ οἷμαι τῆς δατριῆς πέτρας

\*Ἡ πατρὶς φύει τὴν πέτρην ἀχέλου.

Προμ. Δισμ. 966.

Of all the quotations that Mr *Lauder* has produc'd in p. 286, *Milton*, in my opinion, is obliged to his friend *Grotius* only for the four last, which is such a trifle, that none but Mr *Lauder* would have concluded on such slight grounds, "that *Milton* was not so much an original author as he has been reputed."

I shall now briefly consider the other quotations in that page, which will be a supplement to Mr *C. B.*'s observations, *Gent. Mag. pag. 423*.

*Age si vacabit*, &c.

GROTIUS.

Deign to descend, &c.

MILTON.

'Tis evident that, in the mutual discourse of the angel *Raphael* and *Adam*, that *Milton* had *Virgil's* beautiful Episode of the *Trojan* war in his mind. Here *Milton* has not imitated *Grotius*, but the request of *Dido* to *Æneas* to relate the particular circumstances of the destruction of *Troy*, in these words,

*Immo age, & a prima, dic hospes origine*, &c.

*Æn. i. 757*.

*Innominata quæque nominibus suis*, &c.

GROTIUS.

Things by their names I call, tho' yet unnam'd.

MILTON.

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that might arise purely from the identity of the thought, which the common subject naturally

The 11th and 12th books of *Paradise Lost* are noted imitations of the sixth *Æneid*, from whence *Milton* has imitated, or rather translated this verse :

*Hæc tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terræ.*

*Æn. vi. 777.*

*Terrestri orbis rector, &c.*

GROTIUS.

Offspring of heav'n and earth, and all earth's lord.

MILTON.

This and the following quotations are founded on the common subject, and therefore *Masenius*, or any other poet that chose this subject for heroic song, as *Milton* and *Grotius* have done, might have these parallel expressions, and not be thought to copy from each other. Need I quote the 26th and 28th verses of the first book of *Genesis*, compar'd with *Par. Lost*, viii. 338, or *Ovid's Metam.* i. 77 ?

*Nata Deo atque homine fata.*

GROTIUS.

Daughter of God and man, immortal *Eve*.

*Par. Lost*, ix. 291.

Empress of this fair world, resplendent *Eve*. ix. 568.

Sov'reign of creatures, universal dame.

ix. 612.

Here again Mr *Lauder's* zeal for the glory and merit of *Milton*, and his high esteem for that noble poet, appear with a witness ! I have pointed out where these places are to be found, to shew with what labour and diligence he picks up these three lines from various parts of the ninth book, and makes them (what they were never before) such close neighbours. If this is fair criticising, no writer must pretend to call any thing his own. But—the surprising shortness of Mr *Lauder's* memory !—we are told (*Feb. Mag.* p. 189 F) that these expressions are copied from *Ramsay*. See p. 19.

A thought or expression which we approve, and which

is

rally suggested. But, granting that *Milton* was much more indebted to *Grotius* than he is, it would not be difficult to account for it, without any injury to our author's deserv'd reputation. We are told by Mr *Fenton* that he was introduced to the acquaintance of *Grotius* by Lord *Scudamore*; undoubtedly the learned conversation of two such eminent men as *Milton* and *Grotius* contracted a mutual esteem and friendship. And (as men are naturally fond of their first productions) it is not improbable that *Grotius* might make our poet a present of his tra-

is adherent to the subject we are intent upon, frequently arises in our minds and is repeated in our discourse; it proves itself to be *our own*, and not *another's*, by the fondness we express for it.—So two of these quotations occur in other places in *Paradise Lost*.

——— Son of heav'n and earth.

v. 519.

Daughter of God and Man, accomplish'd *Eve*. iv. 660.

These and the like endearing expressions begin almost every speech of *Adam* and *Eve*, and are perfectly suitable to their state of innocence, and happy imitations of *Homer* and *Virgil*. If *Milton* regards one place more than another, I think 'tis the beginning of the speeches of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, in the 11th *Æneid*.

*O germana mihi atque eadem gratissima conjux.* x. 607.

——— *O pulcherrime conjux.*

x. 611.

The description of the serpent is *Milton's own*.—If he had intended not to rely totally on the force of his own genius, he might have recourse to *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Ovid*, &c. whose descriptions surpass that of *Grotius*.—*Milton* here has follow'd the opinion of the Fathers, that the serpent mov'd in a more erect posture before the fall of man, when the curse was pronounced on him. *Gen.* iii. 14.

tragedy, which was one of the amusements of his youth. *Milton* might highly value that work, not only for its intrinsic worth, but for the esteem he had for its author. The most shining parts of it might warm his fertile imagination (as those of *Homer* and *Virgil* did before) which time impaired not, but improv'd. But is a charge or an accusation (to use Mr *Lauder's* own decent expressions) to be brought against *Milton* for this? Are not *Tasso* and *Spencer* both moderns? Yet *Milton* has taken several hints and expressions from the first, and acknowledged himself that the latter was his original. But not one of *Milton's* most inveterate enemies ever charg'd or accus'd him for imitating these great authors. *Virgil* has some lines in common with *Lucretius*, *Ennius*, and *Theocritus*, and *Hesiod* with *Homer*; and *Virgil* and *Horace* are more indebted to *Homer* and *Pindar*, than *Milton* to *Grotius*; yet we do not find that they were calumniated for it by the *Baviuss* of antiquity. Good sense and sublimity of thought are the same in all authors, ancient or modern; their own merit, not their antiquity, render them sterling: they engaged *Milton's* esteem wherever he found them, from whatever source they were derived; nor did he despise a well-invented novel or fable, tho' the *Iliad* was in his hand. As to *Milton's* inserting some of *Grotius's* thoughts in the texture of his poem, I in some measure agree with Mr *Lauder*, as to the matter, not the manner of his pro-



proceedings. He *accusēs* where he ought to *commend*. If, after the manner of that true critic Mr *Addison*, his intent had been to illustrate the Poet, by comparing his work with that of *Grotius*, he should not only have my hearty thanks, but the approbation of the whole learned world. But as his intent and main design is to injure *Milton's* fame, and depreciate his noble and valuable writings, he will gather weeds where he expected laurels.

*I am, S I R, Yours, &c.*

R. R.

*F I N I S.*

